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The Far East Ablaze

By G. Safarov

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CHAPTER I

THE POISON GAS OFFENSIVE

THE crisis is now in its fourth year. There appears to be no end to it; long months of unemployment, constant distress and privation in the home, the impossibility of feeding wife and children, slavery conditions in the factories, where workers are continually being discharged and wage-cuts are the order of the day. Men sell their last belongings. Yet, on the streets everywhere one hears the cry: "Hail, Hitler!" because the bourgeoisie of each country has learned to translate fascism into its own language, has learned to adapt the capitalist offensive to its own national customs and habits.

From the Far East come the echo of bombardments, the roar of exploding bombs hurled from aeroplanes, which wipe out whole towns and villages. From the East come the rumblings of the war already begun for the seizure of new colonial spoils, for fresh suppressions of weak and backward nations, for another partition of the world.

Memories of the "last" war of "liberation," which destroyed tens of millions of human lives and crippled scores and hundreds of millions of people, come back to the mind of the hungry and oppressed workers.

Whatever signs of recovery appear in industry, whatever orders are obtained, are connected with war. Everything smacks of war profiteering and blood.

Hitler loads German industry with war orders that he may throw millions of German proletarians into a new massacre for restoring the imperialist "grandeur" of German capital. The Schneider Creusot and Skoda Works operate at full pressure to prepare French imperialism and its vassals for a duel with German and Italian imperialism. Armstrong's and Vicker's are also busy with orders.

In September, 1931, Japan took up its bloody bayonet and invaded China. The League of Nations began to "discuss the situation." It met the tragedy of the enslaved Chinese people with interminable talk and red tape intended to cloak repulsive imperialist schemes.

The League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference are both engaged in "discussing."

For years, under the chairmanship of Henderson, the Disarmament Conference has been forging weapons of new imperialist wars and anti-Soviet interventions, covering them with the varnish of peaceful and amiable phrases.

It is now nearly four years since the crisis broke out. The capitalists of all countries constantly increase their pressure, becoming more and more brazen in their aim of converting the proletarians from wage-slaves into obedient cannon fodder for imperialism and intervention.

There is only one country in the world in which the proletariat builds socialism, in which it has already created giants of socialist industry and a collectivized village.

Every rank and file worker in Europe and America is thinking about this. He sees the model party of the Second International, the German Social-Democratic Party, which promised to achieve socialism without civil war, now growing hoarse with shouts of: "Hail, Hitler!" He ponders deeply: Is there any way out of this capitalist hell?

He opens a Social-Democratic newspaper and reads: "Treaty of friendship between Stalin and Hitler"—"Of course, the situation of the Soviet Union is not easy . . . it is threatened by the gangster imperialism of Japan, which flagrantly violates every lawful claim of the Soviet Union to the Chinese-Eastern Railway, and breaks communications between Siberia and Vladivostok. However, the danger of any union between the capitalist Powers against the U.S.S.R. now, after the victory of German Fascism, when the antagonisms between the capitalist Powers have been

sharpened, is less threatening than ever before." (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, May 9, 1933.)

He rubs his eyes, he is amazed at the malignity of this lie. The Vienna labour paper accuses the Soviet Union of betraying the cause of the working class. Yet, almost on the same day, the same newspaper prints this: "The Bureau of the Socialist and Labour International has refused to issue a moral judgment on those Social-Democratic members of the German Reichstag who, at the last session of the Reichstag, in the face of the death threats of the Nazis (should they dare to adopt a different line of conduct) voted for the resolution expressing the solidarity of the entire German nation with Hitler's foreign policy." (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, May 23, 1933.)

The Social-Democratic worker cannot believe his eyes. The basest mockery of the interests of the working class fails to arouse the least protest among his "honourable" leaders who, nevertheless, at the same time, vilify the U.S.S.R., spread slanders and lies about it, and play the role of open *agents provocateurs*.

The Social-Democratic worker understands that the "friendship" between Stalin and Hitler—about which "socialist" millionaires, like the Frenchman, Leon Blum, shout, and about which the Austrian Social-Democrats, who cringe before Dollfuss, write—is in reality a malicious lie.

The Soviet Union pursues a firm and consistent policy of peace. Since the October days it has abolished secret diplomacy, and its treaties with any capitalist Power provide solely and exclusively for: (1) Non-recognition of any treaties and transactions of the imperialists for violent suppression of peoples; (2) Guaranteeing the borders of the U.S.S.R. and refusal to make any forcible alteration in the borders of other States; (3) Conditions of economic relations with capitalist Powers based upon trade in certain commodities which the U.S.S.R. requires or sells to the capitalists. Any treaty with a capitalist Power signifies the utilization of the contradictions in the camp of

imperialism, for the purpose of benefiting socialist construction. The capitalists of all countries would be happy at any moment to wipe the land of victorious socialism off the face of the earth, but for their necessity to trade, to compete with each other for Soviet orders, and their fear of the growing power of the U.S.S.R. and of its tremendous authority among the proletariat and toilers all over the world.

The scoundrels of the Second International—which is falling to pieces under everybody's eyes—try to cover up their criminal role, their truly provocative help to international fascism, by the meanest lies. From the very first day of the October Revolution they slandered the Bolsheviks, alleging that the latter, with Lenin at their head, were intending to conquer the rest of the world with the aid of the Red Army. They have accused the Bolsheviks incessantly of "Red imperialism." They do it to this day; yet, whenever the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union thwarts imperialist designs, prevents the imperialists from involving the Soviet Union in their rivalries, these scoundrels of the Second International begin to shout of Soviet "betrayal." At the same time they everywhere and always try to identify the Communist International with the government of the Soviet Union, so that it may be easier for them to organize plots against the Soviet Union and to disrupt the united front struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers against capital.

The Leon Blums and their Austrian "poor relations" "put forward" against Hitler the Weygands¹ who have not yet forgotten their part in the intervention, while the U.S.S.R. is found "guilty" of not helping the Weygands and Hitlers to dig in Central Europe a new collective grave for millions of toilers, who are to be murdered in the fight between the French and German

¹ The French Marshal who commanded the Polish Army in the attack on the Soviet Union in 1920.

imperialist bourgeoisie for a new enslavement of the toilers.

The Soviet Union, by the example of its economic construction, by its enormous socialist achievements, fosters the cause of the international proletarian revolution. But the infamous social-fascist slanderers set upon it and endeavour to make it look as if the Soviet Union's omission to proclaim an aggressive war upon Hitler is betraying the cause of labour. This is done by those who justify and encourage the Social-Hitlerites. This is done by those who adapt all their policies to preparations for imperialist war, some under the banner of the French bondholders, others under that of the Pilsudski crowd, still others under the swastika.

A Social-Democratic worker reads the venomous words: "The Soviet Union is now less than ever threatened with intervention." The echo of bombardments in the Far East still resounds in his ears. He sees the numerous facts of the increasing provocations of Japanese imperialism in Manchuria. He sees the Japanese sword sever the Chinese Eastern Railway from the U.S.S.R. He senses with proletarian instinct that from Kalgan, Peking and Tientsin, Japanese imperialism has faced about for an attack upon the U.S.S.R. But at this very time Social-Democratic lies and slanders are rained upon him.

And suddenly he recalls that all this comes from the arsenal of plundering war itself. By contaminating the ground for dozens of miles with slow poison gases the offensive of whole divisions and army corps can be stopped. The Social-Democratic worker begins to understand. The capitalists, i.e., those preparing to leap upon the U.S.S.R. and fearful that the imperialist war might start before the anti-Soviet intervention, must check the counter-offensive of the proletarian divisions, regiments and armies against capital, against the deadly threat of imperialist war and a new "crusade" against the Soviets by all means. He begins to understand.

CHAPTER II

WAR IS A TERRIBLY PROFITABLE THING

"WAR is a terrible thing? Yes, but it is a terribly profitable thing." (Lenin, *First of May and War*, 1915, Vol. XXX, page 226.)

War is a terrible thing, inasmuch as imperialism converts the workers and peasants into cannon fodder for capital. This war of the plundering imperialists is a terrible thing for the toilers. But it is a terribly profitable thing for the capitalists, for the munition makers, for those who warm their hands by the capture of territory and the throttling of whole peoples.

China lost in Manchuria one-thirteenth part of its population, about half a million square miles of territory, and a fourth of its foreign trade.

In Shanghai the Japanese plunderers destroyed tens of thousands of lives, 896 enterprises, 200 schools. The total losses are estimated at a billion dollars.

By a new leap into the heart of China, the Japanese invaders increased their prey to fifty million people. *Fifty million people have been reaped by the Mikado, the Japanese billionaires, generals and landlords by means of bayonets, tanks and bombs. The Japanese war industry has made a great stride forward.*

In Great Britain, the production of pig iron between 1929 and 1932 dropped by 55 per cent., in the U.S.A. by 80 per cent., in Germany by 70 per cent., in France by 45 per cent. In Japan the production of pig iron last year increased by 10 per cent., cutting down its total decline as compared with 1929 to only five per cent.

Since 1929 the production of steel has fallen in Great Britain by 40 per cent., in the U.S.A. by 75 per cent., in Germany by 55 per cent., in France by 35 per cent. In Japan, during the same four years, it increased by 24 per cent., 20 per cent. of that increase taking place during the last year alone.

War is, indeed, a terribly profitable thing!

The incomes of the Japanese steel mills, which were equal to 8.6 per cent of their paid-up capital in the first half of 1929, increased to 12.4 per cent. in the second half of 1932. The depreciation of the yen, the pressure upon labour, the offensive of capital and the supplies to the army, created a favourable situation in the Japanese textile industry. They improved the incomes of the weaving mills to 25.4 per cent., of the woollen mills to 29.4 per cent., and of the artificial silk mills to 28 per cent.

That organ of Japanese capital, *The Eastern Economist*, rubs its hands with satisfaction. "Normal days" have come back, a normal situation has been restored!

This "normal" situation is returning for the Japanese capitalists, together with plundering imperialist war, with tens of thousands of murdered Chinese, with tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers laying down their lives for a criminal cause which is alien to them, with millions of Chinese ruined and dying, with millions of starving in the Japanese rear.

War is a terribly profitable thing!

The Japanese Steel Pipe Company pocketed 44 per cent. dividends in the first half of 1932, and 22 per cent. in the second half of the year. Tokayama Plate netted 23 per cent. and 20.2 per cent. respectively. The Osaka Iron Co. raked in 33.17 per cent.

The report of the Chinese Bank coolly states:—

"Wages and prices, particularly in the interior, remain largely unaffected by variations in the gold price of silver. Accordingly, apart from other influences, exporters should be able to purchase at fairly stable prices commodities produced up-country, and at a time of low silver prices sell them in world markets at competitive prices." (*The North-China Herald*, April 12, 1933.)

The Chinese workers and peasants receive their wages in depreciated silver, pulling in their belts

another notch, while European and American exporters are doing a brisk business.

In 1932, China, hungry, impoverished and naked, exported over seventy million gold taels. The director of the Chinese Bank states:—

“If the import of foreign wheat, rice and cotton continues in such large amounts, and if the loss of Manchurian trade cannot be remedied by new trade in other directions, our country may soon approach the time when our stocks of silver will begin to flow out of the country.” (*The North-China Herald*, April 12, 1933.)

Peasant China imported in 1932 three hundred million dollars' worth of foreign wheat and rice, and in order to pay for it was forced to increase the flow of gold from Chinese emigrants abroad who, in 1932 alone, sent to China three hundred and twenty million dollars from their savings.

Marx once said that the Irish washerwomen in America kept the Irish people, who were ruined by the British landlords and capitalists. Now the Chinese washerwomen and coolies safeguard the existence of tens of millions of their relatives, providing for the revenues and super-profits of the imperialists who have run amok in China.

War is a terrible thing, but it is a terribly profitable thing, and the British Chamber of Commerce in China says so openly:—

“A very bright spot from our point of view in the trade of China last year was the maintenance of value of imports from Great Britain. They did not decline one penny in 1932, compared with 1931, though our chief competitors had considerable declines—the United States by no less than ninety-two million Haikwan taels, France by eight million, and Germany by twelve million. We increased in cotton and other textiles, due partly, of course, to the Japanese boycott. . . .” (*The North-China Herald*, April 12, 1933.)

Capital knows how to warm its hands, no matter what happens. It draws profit both from the imperialist throttling of the Chinese people and from their struggle for national existence.

In 1919, China produced about nine million piculs of cotton; in 1931 its production dropped by about one-third. The Chinese peasants are forced to pay for cotton imported by the British imperialists from their colonies, that this cotton may be supplied to Japanese textile mills where preference is given to cheap child labour, and hungry boys and girls are paid a bowl of rice for an eleven-hour working day.

Capital strikes the iron while it is hot, and makes gold out of human blood. This old—but ever new—maxim is a truth which leads us directly to an understanding of the subject.

The imperialist partition of China has long been planned and calculated by the imperialist robbers. They have not yet come to terms with each other. But under the present conditions of general chaos the combinations and inter-relationships of the great Powers change with extraordinary speed—as on a sinking ship the scramble for the lifeboats becomes a free fight, accompanied by shooting.

Only yesterday French imperialism entertained the plan of supporting bourgeois-landlord Japan in the interests of facilitating a simultaneous attack upon the Soviet Union from the West. Reputable French bankers promised to finance the Japanese enterprises in Manchukuo and swore to give money for the assimilation of the natural resources of the maritime region², should the Japanese bayonet succeed in slicing it away from the Soviet Union.

The change of the situation in Europe, following on Hitler's advent to power, has forced French imperial-

² The extreme far-eastern district of the U.S.S.R. facing the Pacific Ocean, the chief city being Vladivostok

ism to step aside and yield its star role in the organization of the anti-Soviet front to the British die-hards. The British die-hards cannot be particularly happy at the Japanese competition in all the textile markets. Nevertheless, they seek to compensate the imperialist contradictions, and their squabble with Japanese imperialism over the division of the spoils by preparing and organizing the struggle against the U.S.S.R.

American imperialism is clearly at variance with Japan over the question of the partition of China, but the American bourgeoisie is enraptured by the fact that Japanese purchases of cotton and metal products in the U.S.A. bring them pretty high profits. "Business is business."

Imperialist war grows out of the very conditions of existence of capitalist society, out of the very conditions of the rule of the capitalist at the present time.

For this very reason Japanese imperialism swaggers so repulsively and arrogantly at all the international diplomatic market-fairs.

The "shy" diplomats (in order to silence the workers and keep their own cards under the table) make theatrical gestures of the slightest, politest, most inoffensive and even encouraging "condemnation." But is it possible to find fault with the imperialist diplomats at a time when Leon Blum, the great trickster of French Social-Democracy, quite openly demonstrates his sympathy for the Japanese brigandage in China without being in the least daunted by a labour audience?

"Is there any wonder," remarks Blum, "that in this Japanese steam boiler, which has no safety valves, and in which the pressure of the human atmosphere is steadily growing, the forces of almost mechanical power of expansion burst into the open?" (*Populaire*, March 4, 1933.)

Leon Blum is not alone. He conducts a complete chorus, the chorus of the Second International, which on the one side modestly covers its face with its hands and, on the other prompts the capitalist cut-throats to

the most ignominious and counter-revolutionary adventures.

War is, indeed, a "terribly profitable thing," and what does it cost Blum to shed a tear of sympathy for China for the sake of insuring the profits of Schneider-Creusot and the other armament makers—profits from the sale of tanks, artillery and aeroplanes to the Japanese army? Every word of such tearful talk is paid in gold, in tens and hundreds of millions of francs.

CHAPTER III

THEY ARE IN A HURRY

THEY are in a hurry to strangle and divide China, while preparing for an anti-Soviet intervention. Japanese imperialism has already clearly revealed its war objects in China. It has seized Manchuria, it seeks to seize Inner Mongolia and conquer the Mongolian People's Republic as well. It is establishing its control over North China, from Tientsin to Peking, Kalgan and Taiyuang. It will not be slow to capture Shantung, which is rich in ores and which has already once been seized by it. The armistice line fixed by it is designed to keep the whole line from Tientsin to Peking and Kalgan under the threats of Japanese artillery and Japanese bayonets.

Japanese imperialism does not want to occupy Peking itself, inasmuch as an advertised occupation might embroil it with the other imperialists, particularly with its present closest ally, British imperialism. It is creating its docile agency in North China with the aid of the militarist groupings of the bourgeoisie and landlords. This agency consists of marionettes, some of whom have already served it faithfully in the past, and will continue to dance before the muzzles of its guns and machine-guns. Meantime, it will be moving further to the West, to the borders of the U.S.S.R., that Japanese bayonets once again be reflected in the waters of Lake Baikal, as in the days of the intervention.

This strategical plan of Japanese imperialism is sufficiently transparent, and the leaders of Japanese imperialism make no secret of it when they engage in discussion of their "tasks." The War Minister Araki, with the bluntness of a true soldier, has given away the whole affair from beginning to end.

The Japanese interest in Mongolia as the immediate object of their policy of conquest is clearly and indisputably connected with preparation for intervention. Araki stated that "the question of the extension to Mongolia of the imperial morality (so the Japanese bandits call their brigandage) is more difficult than was the similar question in Manchuria. Here it is necessary to clearly and frankly state that whatever enemy should oppose this expansion must be destroyed."

What enemy is implied here is perfectly clear, for Araki himself declares that "neither in Central Asia nor in Siberia is there to be found the slightest trace of liberty (!) and Mongolia seems to have also become converted into a second Central Asia. . . . There are several hundred thousand Koreans in East Siberia and their situation is still more dreadful. We must feel the need of taking care of them as deeply as we are doing with the Koreans living in Manchuria and take the necessary steps of assistance for them in the nearest future." (*Japan's Tasks in the Epoch of Siowa.*)

Japanese imperialism has stretched out its long arm over the whole of the Soviet East. It loudly proclaims its intention to crush the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Far Eastern Region, and Soviet Siberia. The Koreans, who in Korea itself are subjected to inhuman torments, suffering from the Japanese imperialist yoke, serve as a pretext for an anti-Soviet "pan-Asiatism" of the most reactionary fascist militarists and imperialist cut-throats.

Like a bone in a wolf's throat, the victories of socialism in emancipating and uplifting the peoples who had previously been oppressed by imperialism, stick in those of the Japanese snakes. These victories, which create new socialist nations in Asia, make them choke, for they sway and revolutionize the entire colonial world, and threaten to deprive the Japanese colonial slave-owners of their tortured colonial prey.

Japanese imperialism during the last few years has been boasting very much about its "great mission in Asia." This is quite natural. It wants to become a first-rate imperialist robber but it lacks capital, it lacks industrial possibilities, it lacks full-blooded capitalist maturity and overmaturity. It was not for nothing that Lenin said that "in Japan and in Russia the monopoly of military force, vast territory and particular convenience in robbing alien nationalities, China, etc., partly supplements and partly supersedes the monopoly of modern finance capital." (*Lenin, Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, Russian ed., p. 309.)

The circumstance of the crisis has enabled bourgeois-landlord Japan to make a move as an imperialist upstart.

American imperialism, the most dangerous rival of Japanese imperialism, has tumbled down from the heights of its "prosperity" and slipped down to the point of inflating what was until recently the "almighty" dollar.

The biggest imperialist powers, paralysed by the world economic crisis, speculate madly in the search for a way out of it, tripping each other up at every step. British imperialism, at one time all-powerful, is going through the deepest crisis, by which its foundations are being undermined. The revolutionization of the working masses and colonial slaves under the influence of the Soviet example is everywhere assuming formidable dimensions.

Japanese imperialism began its offensive against China in 1931 precisely because it was conscious of the fact that the old partition of the world carried out at Versailles and Washington was no longer effective. During the World War, imperialist Japan attempted to subjugate practically the whole of China by means of the twenty-one conditions. She captured Manchuria and Shantung, became master of the situation in Peking and dictated her will to the Chinese marionettes from the pro-Japanese Anfu Club.

When the troops of the interventionists were thrown

out of Siberia and Vladivostok and American imperialism began to feel that its opportunity had come to curb Japanese appetites, a treaty was concluded in Washington which forced Japan to retreat before the all-powerful dollar imperialism.

American imperialism set itself the aim of conquering the whole of China by means of "peaceful" economic penetration. It made a treaty with British imperialism to have the Japanese naval forces related to those of the U.S.A. and England in the ratio of three to five. It forced bourgeois landlord Japan temporarily to be content with control of Manchuria through the Chang Tso-lin gang.³

But Japanese imperialism had by no means renounced its claims. On the contrary, it merely kept them in storage to present its bills somewhat later.

Here is how these bills appear now :

"Japan is said to be small in area and has only limited natural resources. But this is a mistaken conception received from geographical text books of the Medji period. When the mainland of Japan, Taiwan, Chosen, Saghalien, and Manchukuo are developed in co-operation, there will be great natural resources that can rival those of any great power of the world. *Then beyond the sea lies the great continent of China, the Maritime Province of Siberia, and Kamstchatka.*"

"*The Japanese Navy has command of the sea in the North, the Sea of Japan, the China Sea, and the Western Pacific. The life-line of the Asiatic continent is within the control of the Japanese Army.*"

"If, unfortunately, foreign powers are to force an economic blockade upon Japan, she can blockade China, Manchukuo, Mongolia, the Maritime Province, and Kamstchatka against foreign powers, by utilizing the natural topography of Asia. Then the Sea of Japan lying between the Asiatic Continent and the Japanese islands, is perfectly under Japan's control,

³ A Chinese militarist who was later murdered by the Japanese General Staff as he was proving "unreliable."

and the abundant natural products of these districts on the coasts of the sea will be monopolized by Japan. At one time Great Britain occupied a superior position by being able to reach Africa, Egypt, India, and South Seas by sea routes regardless of the situation on the European Continent, as long as she could protect the English Channel by her naval forces. The position controlled by Japan to-day is much greater than that formerly occupied by England. China, Manchukuo, Mongolia, and the Maritime Province are still undeveloped treasuries of natural resources, and they have greater futures than has already-matured Europe. The markets in the South Seas, India, and the Pacific are much greater than the former British colonies. It is the mission granted Japan by Heaven to utilize these great masses of population, these great markets, and these natural resources."

"The United States cannot threaten Japan single-handed while England is unable to take the initiative. *At least until 1936, America's naval strength is unprepared to confront the Japanese Navy.* At present the American Navy is protecting American trade with China, without fighting, and the United States has come to occupy the first position in trade with China, taking advantage of the anti-Japanese sentiment there. But if the United States fights Japan, the China Sea and the Japan Sea would be controlled by the Japanese Navy, and the *United States would have to give up her trade with China. She would even be obliged to give up the Philippines and Hawaii.*" (From the article by Seigo Nakano, the leader of the Koku-min Domei, published by *Japan Times and Mail*, April 9, 1933.)

~~During the post-war period the delay in the new and more thorough partition of China was due to the development of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 and the Soviet movement of 1929-33.~~

The position of the different imperialist plunderers in China is largely determined by the proportion between their investments and trade in China. Great

Britain has invested 1,250,000,000 dollars in China; Japan, 1,250,000,000 dollars; the U.S.A. 250,000,000 dollars. The British share in China's trade in 1929 amounted to 160,000,000 dollars, Japan's share to 500,000,000 dollars and that of the U.S.A. to 338,000,000 dollars. British capital, more than the rest, would welcome the allocation of definite Chinese territories to definite imperialist powers, inasmuch as in the struggle for markets throughout the post-war period it has been retreating before Japan and the U.S.A. Its basic sphere of influence is the valley of the Yangtse River, and the South of China, with Hongkong as the stronghold.

American imperialism has sought during the post-war period to finance, feed and arm the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landlords, in the hope that the Kuomintang would succeed in uniting the country, enabling it to take advantage of the centralization of the country under its control, to conquer China as a whole. American imperialism rendered a certain amount of aid to the resistance to Japan in Shanghai and Manchuria, seeking to safeguard its imperialist interests behind China's back. Yet it is not prepared for a fight against Japanese imperialism.

In the period when the dollar was all-powerful, the American bourgeoisie did not attach much importance to its armaments, hoping that the power of the dollar would always assure it the necessary international support, since it financed the stabilization of capitalism in post-war Europe. But when it was drawn into the maelstrom of the crisis, it began to be worried at its military backwardness. The American bourgeoisie is now complaining that:

"Not only are our destroyers outgunned and outspeeded, but few of them have sufficient cruising radius to cross the Atlantic without refuelling, and none is capable of crossing the Pacific without refuelling." (*New York Times*, April 23, 1933.)

If we take a look at the relationship of forces

between the navies of the U.S.A., England and Japan, fixed in Washington (5:5:3) we find that England possess 82 per cent. of serviceable⁴ warships, Japan 95 per cent. and the U.S.A. only 61 per cent. While the American dreadnoughts have a speed of 21 knots, the Japanese dreadnoughts are able to develop 24.5 knots. The American destroyers cannot exceed the speed of modern cruisers.

For this reason the American bourgeoisie prefers, for the moment, to build aviation plants in China, which, by their heavy bombing planes, could, if necessary, cause great inconvenience to Japanese imperialism, rather than take up an open fight.

As regards *British* imperialism, ever since 1931 it has pursued a dual policy. This duality was expressed in that, on the one hand, British imperialism sought to check the Japanese offensive to some extent, inasmuch as it threatens England with the loss of many very important positions, and, on the other hand, British imperialism sought to establish closer relations with Japanese imperialism to counteract the American bourgeoisie, which is Britain's chief imperialist rival on the world arena. Great Britain simultaneously restrained and urged on the Japanese Araki and Co.; she urged them on, but at the same time tried to trip them up. Also, especially of late, British imperialism has sought by every means to direct the edge of the Japanese offensive *against the U.S.S.R.*, against the revolutionary force which is particularly dangerous to its Asiatic rule.

While Japanese imperialism has embarked upon the open strangulation, subjugation and partition of China from one end, British imperialism has simultaneously begun partition in a disguised form from the other end. There can be no doubt that it is British imperialism which is at the back of the so-called south-western group, which fights against Chiang Kai-shek,

⁴ Every ship has a certain period of service upon the expiration of which it loses its necessary properties.

and now seeks to direct its forces towards Wuhan in the Yangtse river valley under the pretext of a "fight against the Japanese offensive," and non-recognition of the deals between the Nanking clique and Tokyo.

British imperialism, with its base at Hongkong, seeks to utilize the disorganization of the governmental and military machinery of the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution, which has been accelerated by the Japanese advance, to extend and consolidate its sphere of influence and carve out itself a more luscious morsel, up to the size of the Hongkong-Wuhan-Shanghai triangle.

Not so long ago a certain diehard member of Parliament wrote with complete frankness: "The next step I prophesy will be the stabilisation of the Yangtse Valley with Shanghai as its apex and as entrepot for an area embracing a population of some 150,000,000. Japan fully realises this development and has no reason nor would she have any justification for interference in spheres beyond which she has clearly declared are the limits of her objective and policy. . . . China, with its 400,000,000, at present imports 2 per cent. of the world's trade . . . no country can expect to have the monopoly of supplying all the goods China or any province or part of China requires to import." (*English Review*, May, 1933.)

The position of Chiang Kai-shek as the head of the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution has been considerably shaken, and the British bourgeoisie is clearly in a hurry to derive every possible advantage from this position by strengthening its hold on everything that can still be seized from China. At the same time it is trying to drive bourgeois-landlord Japan further to the north against the U.S.S.R., hoping in this way to establish a more or less united front with her for a struggle against the U.S.S.R.

On all the Asiatic borders of the Soviet Union, British imperialism is carrying on feverish preparations for intervention. It has created a complete network of air bases from Egypt and Iraq to Persia and

the Afghan and Indian borders, and these bases are intended to serve as vantage points for raids upon Soviet territory.

It is now provoking, with the aid of feudal khans and the pan-Islamist circles of Sinkiang,⁵ an anti-Chinese uprising which will serve in the future as an excuse for the capture of Chinese Turkestan by it and its conversion into a jumping-off ground against the U.S.S.R. British colonels and "Intelligence Service" agents are busy in Persia, Afghanistan, Sinkiang, Tibet and the Mongolian steppes, establishing ever closer co-operation with Japanese imperialism. The war between China and Tibet is also the work of the British plunderers who are creeping towards Kansu both from Tibet and through their pan-Islamist connections.

The French plunderers, in their turn, have decided to seize Yunnan, Kwansi and Kweichow, lying next to downtrodden Indo-China. But their activity at the present time has diminished, owing to the acuteness of the situation in Europe.

Japanese imperialism preaches the conquest of all of Eastern Asia. Araki deliberately seeks to exacerbate his pan-Asiatic policy against the U.S.S.R., in order to devise some compromise with British imperialism. They try to intimidate the British imperialists by a threat of the defection of India and are establishing friendly contact with them against the U.S.S.R.

The partition of China by the imperialists is taking place in an atmosphere of intense rivalry among the imperialists themselves. At the same time Japanese and British imperialism are feverishly preparing for an attack upon the U.S.S.R.

They are hastening to divide up China, for they are in a hurry to attack the U.S.S.R.

⁵ The Moslem Central Asian province of China, bordering on the U.S.S.R. and India.

CHAPTER IV

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE SOVIET MOVEMENT, AND THE NEW NATIONAL BETRAYAL OF THE CHINESE BOURGEOIS-LANDLORD COUNTER-REVOLUTION

ON February 27, 1933, the British diehard Amery, during a debate in the House of Commons, not inaptly remarked that "the League of Nations first gave China a chair to sit down on, and then took it away." The League of Nations, which was organized as an alliance of imperialist plunderers for an "amicable" division of the world spoils, never had any intention of protecting the rights of the oppressed nations. But just as the clauses of the Versailles Peace Treaty contain everything, even including a statement of the necessity of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, just so do the clauses of the innumerable resolutions of the League of Nations contain a whole ocean of that plutocratic hypocrisy which is entirely indispensable during the epoch of the rule of finance capital.

British and French imperialism have been, and remain, the two mainstays of the League of Nations. Their attitude to the events in the Far East was determined by their fundamental imperialist interests. French imperialism, through the mouths of the Boncours,⁶ made out a case for the destruction of Chapei at the very time when British diplomats in Shanghai were seeking a suitable formula to justify the unpunished departure of the Japanese bandits

⁶ Paul Boncour, a French "Socialist," representative of the French Republic on the Disarmament Conference, an extreme jingo, left the Socialist Party to become Minister of War in the French Cabinet.

from devastated Chapei,⁷ and the most outrageous betrayal of the national interests by the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang. The Chinese bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution never seriously intended to protect the independence and integrity of China even for a short while. On the contrary, its motto has always been war against its own people, against toilers, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. It has maintained its existence by plundering the country and by bloody pacification, relying on the support of imperialism. Even now, it is bombing the Chinese villages in Kiangsi from the air for refusing to return to the feudal-landlord yoke.

Imperialism, with the aid of the Chinese counter-revolution, has pursued the fundamental principle of slave-owning rule, namely, to divide and conquer. At times the Chinese counter-revolution sought to penetrate this or that cleft between imperialist disagreements and, encouraged by American money, urged Chang Hsueh-liang, the former Manchurian war lord, to pose as a fighter for his lost domain. But, on the whole, it was always a faithful servant of the great powers. Its representatives in the League of Nations did not even attempt to broach the subject of China's independence as such, but only meekly begged some of the plunderers, in the interests of their own plundering, to keep the others in check somewhat "in view of the internal difficulties." The political bankruptcy of the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution was revealed in the fact of the powerful and irresistible growth of the Soviet movement ever since 1929.

Already in the Lytton report, the League of Nations clearly and definitely expressed its consent, in principle, to a new partition of China, inasmuch as this is in the interests of establishing imperialist "law and order." Matsuoka, the emissary of Japanese imperialism, poked not a little fun at the deliberate "contradictoriness" of the Lytton report: "For instance,

⁷ See *Chapei in Flames and Hell over Shanghai*. (Modern Books, Ltd.)

on page 17 of the first chapter it is said that 'the national government is the central power, at least it is not openly repudiated,' while on page 23 it is stated that 'Communism has become a true rival of this national government.' . . . The national government of China is merely a name and intention and not an existing and really controlling power. The national government controls only a few of the eighteen provinces of China proper and maintains itself only by force. *Communist hordes control a much larger territory."*

About these heroic Red Armies of Soviet China, the president of the Second International wrote in 1931, black on white: "Armed bands solemnly calling themselves Red Armies wander back and forth, evaporating (!?) upon the appearance of regular troops. On the whole they owe the successes which they have scored merely to the absence of government troops who are busy elsewhere fighting against Feng or Yen. It may be expected that, freed from this care, the Nanking government will easily dispose of them." (E. Vandervelde, *A Travers la Revolution Chinoise*, Paris 1931, p. 223.)

The League of Nations, on which the entire Second International has been fawning, has actually helped the Japanese bandits to capture Manchuria, to devastate and burn Chapei. It blessed them for the long march across the great Chinese Wall. The gesture of "moral disapproval" of the conduct of Japan, which caused Japan to formally leave the League of Nations, has not only failed even in the least to strain the relations between Japanese imperialism and British, but has, on the contrary, made them even more cordial and given them a stronger anti-Soviet trend.

The League of Nations helped the Japanese robbers to plunder and throttle China while, at the same time, seeking to make it appear that the whole thing was merely a "fatal misunderstanding on a world scale." Actually, this entire imperialist militarist organization was created merely to proclaim regularly that all the

current imperialist wars, colonial outrages, interventions and plots against the Land of the Soviets are a "world misunderstanding." With the pacifist certificate of the League of Nations in its hand, Japanese imperialism has annexed Manchuria, wiped Chapei off the face of the earth, crossed the great Chinese Wall, and become virtual master of the situation in Peking and Tientsin.

It is not correct to say that the League of Nations first gave Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei a chair and then removed it. No, the advocates of the League of Nations, by unctuous phrases, aroused naive illusions among masses of the Chinese capitalist "intelligentsia," and petty bourgeoisie, who hoped that the half-hearted support of American imperialism and the "moral sympathy" of the League of Nations might help them to protect China's integrity.

The real facts tore off all masks and exposed all the tricksters and fakers. China is on the block, it has been carved into pieces and in its living body various Kuomintang capitalist-landlord-militarist groupings are wriggling like worms on a carcass, fighting to wrest as much territory from each other as possible; and a reward from the imperialists for helping in the partition of the country.

The south-western grouping headed by Hu Han-min, the old representative of the compradore⁸ bourgeoisie, the old lackey of British Hongkong, is mobilizing its forces to ensure the control by British capital of an extensive sphere of influence from Hongkong to the Yangtse. This grouping has already dispatched troops to Hunan, and the British bourgeoisie does not conceal the fact that British capital has placed its stakes on these Canton representatives. The old Times quite openly speaks of this, trying to persuade Chiang Kai-shek not to fear the separation of the

⁸ The section of the Chinese bourgeoisie which acts directly as an intermediary for foreign capital in China.

south from the "central" government. "But even if the Cantonese make good their threats and declare their independence the central government will be little worse off. General Chiang Kai-shek, the most conspicuous and powerful of its members, has obviously made up his mind to cut his losses in the North and to make Nanking supreme in Central China. With that object he is trying to concentrate the main military strength of the Republic against the Communists, who are far from being beaten and still control large districts to the south of the Yangtse. To him and to the ablest of his colleagues what matters most is not Manchuria, or Canton, but the undivided control by Nanking of the wealthiest and most populous provinces of China, and of the great river which enriches them. It is a realistic policy, its success is essential to Chinese unity, but it is still uncertain whether jealous rivals and youthful Chauvinists will permit him to pursue it to the end." (*Times*, May 26, 1933.)

The intentions of Chiang Kai-shek, the head executioner of the counter-revolution in China, coincide with the plans of British imperialism in the sense that he dreams of no other war except the war against the Chinese people. True, he will have to defend his prey also against the rival military bourgeois-landlord cliques, but these wars of generals are a common occurrence, regarded as a matter of course, under the Kuomintang rule.

Long before the armistice Chiang Kai-shek declared quite unambiguously that "anyone who drags the people on to the false road of senseless anti-Japanese propaganda must be severely punished. (*Japan Times*, April 14, 1933.)

His rival Wang Ching-wei issued the formula which leaves no room for doubt: "To destroy Communism is to resist Japan." (*North China Daily News*, April 19, 1933.)

The Kuomintang gangsters have always systematically dampened and choked the spontaneous movement for popular resistance to the Japanese invaders, con-

tinuing to torture and murder every worker, coolie and peasant who fell into their hands with Communist proclamations, or was caught agitating for an anti-imperialist struggle.

Long before the Japanese guns approached the Tientsin-Peking Railway, Wang Ching-wei and Co. proclaimed the complete national bankruptcy of the ruling and exploiting classes, and their unwillingness to fight for China's independence and integrity.

The Japanese bourgeoisie have quite openly declared their determination to secure control over the north of China with the aid of a large number of militarists and bourgeois-landlord cliques. Their hand contains such a trump as Han Fu-tsu from Shantung, who may, at any moment, strike a blow at Nanking from the flank and jeopardize the existence of the Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei cliques. They also have the old pro-Japanese clique of Tuang Tsi-jui.

Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, the old feudal war lords of Shansi, act in solidarity with the southwestern grouping. They too will never refuse to help those who carve up China and prepare an imperialist feast. International imperialism plays on this key-board.

Its only irreconcilable enemy and the true stronghold of Chinese freedom and independence is the Soviet movement, which recognises no treacherous deals with imperialism, and has inscribed on its banners the liberation of China from the yoke of the imperialist plunderers. The Chinese Soviet Government has officially proposed to the Kuomintang gang to cease hostilities and form a fighting alliance against Japanese imperialism, provided Chiang Kai-shek and Co. relinquish their punitive expeditions against the Soviets and grant freedom of organization and arms to the masses, for the struggle against the robbers who invade Chinese territory. In reply to this, Chiang Kai-shek and his colleagues only strengthened their struggle against the Soviets and the Red Army.

The American bourgeoisie, which wants to be more

"liberal" than the others, and which has taken considerable advantage of the rule of the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution for its speculative transactions, is complaining because . . . "Communist developments in China are weakening the feudal landlords by withdrawing the income that used to accrue to them from their estates. This in turn handicaps Chiang Kai-shek, who leans heavily for support on the landowners. This weakening of the feudal bourgeoisie (!) may yet give the urban working class an opportunity to assert itself." (*The New York Times*, April 16, 1933.) Its reliance on Nanking did not yield it the returns which it had hoped for.

The imperialists of Japan, Great Britain, America and France want to deal with China as a helpless, almost stiff corpse. Their mutual contradictions and internal conflicts, however, together with the complicated condition of all the international relations in the imperialist camp; the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution inevitably leading to new generals' wars, and the mighty growth of the anti-imperialist movement throughout the country, which grows wider and stronger by purging itself of the treacherous bourgeois-landlord "assistance" are apparent. The indisputable successes of the Soviet movement, appearing more and more as the decisive force of the national unification and resistance, confronts the imperialists, not with an easy and painless partition of China, but with gloomy prospects of new imperialist conflicts, a deeper disintegration of all the elements of the capitalist-landlord "order" in China, and a new bigger growth of the Soviet movement and the Red Army.

Chiang Kai-shek and his colleagues are faced with a fight against the south-western grouping and their northern neighbours. In the north, the Japanese imperialists are trying to grab the Mongolian territory as quickly as possible, and safeguard their line of communication between Peking and Kalgan. They are driving Feng Yu-hsiang out, so that on the territory of Northern China, already contracted thanks to the

Japanese advance, such a large number of war cliques is being concentrated that things will not end without further lengthy generals' wars, in the most diverse combinations.

Soviet China, China of the working class and peasantry, marching under the leadership of the Communist Party to the liberation of the four hundred million strong Chinese people, will continuously gain by the fight in the enemies' camp and the sharpening of the imperialist contradictions in consequence of this struggle. At the same time, the successes of the Chinese people in the struggle for freedom and national independence, the victory of the Soviet movement, will act as a most important factor in disrupting the plans of intervention aimed against the fatherland of the toilers of the world.

CHAPTER V

ASIA FOR THE MIKADO AND THREE THOUSAND MILLIONAIRES

NEVER did imperialist banditism assume such open forms as nowadays. Capitalism is steadily losing its grip over the world. It has ceased to be a universal system. In the other hemisphere the giants of socialist industry and agriculture rise higher and higher, showing the whole of toiling humanity the way out of the capitalist deadlock. The dying and rotting parasite not only does not want to surrender, but frantically resists, attempting to stave off his inevitable destruction, by a new division of the colonial spoils, by new wars and interventions, by new war super-profits.

At the diplomatic fairs, in Geneva, Washington and London, open discussions are conducted concerning the size of the spoils which are to go to this and that group of plunderers. Parasitic and dying capitalism lacks oxygen; like one choking for lack of air is convulsively grasping for space, seeking new annexations, more room for robbery and plunder.

Japanese imperialism, as the upstart, was the first to raise the question of a new partition of the world. Bereft of all shame, it began to shout that it was "short of territory" and immediately received encouragement and support from the entire capitalist camp down to Social-Democracy. Did not the *Populaire*,⁹ at the very beginning of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria write that "Japan can no longer feed its extremely rapidly growing population on its volcanic islands." (November 20, 1931.)

Throughout the entire robber crusade of Japanese imperialism this talk about the "60,000,000 population

⁹ The official organ of the French Socialist Party.

of Japan lacking territory" travelled round the world. Yet even now, over 44 per cent. of the Japanese population in Manchuria are administrative staffs and 38.5 per cent. transport employees. (*Wirtschaftsdienst*, 1933.) Land beyond Japan's boundaries is required for "civilizing" executioners' exploits, rather than feeding the oppressed and downtrodden toilers of Japan.

In Japan itself, according to data for 1928, half the total village population owned altogether 9 per cent. of the cultivated area, while 50,000 landlords owned one-fourth. The starvation rent in kind, which deprives the peasants of two-thirds of their crops, and drives their daughters into brothels and cotton mills is a predominant phenomenon in Japan. On this semi-feudal foundation rises the edifice of capitalist industry, where the relations between labour and capital are governed by police batons, and every movement of protest on the part of the workers is put down with amazing cruelty.

The Japanese imperialists are preaching ecstatically the "great Asiatic mission of Japan." Japanese imperialism considers that it is destined to monopolise all the economic resources of Asia. It seeks to "free the Asiatic people from white oppression" that the capitalist semi-feudal parasites of Japan may loudly crunch and swallow the 400,000,000 people of China, and 350,000,000 people of India, the Mongolian plains, the liberated socialist republics of the East, the Soviet Far East and socialist Siberia.

Japanese imperialism makes no secret of its plundering intentions and actions. General Araki "himself" quite openly declared that "the Manchurian incident was a god-send to Japan; it must be granted that God had started all bells ringing to awaken the Japanese people."

Waving the banner: "Asia for Japanese imperialism," Araki viciously attacks "dangerous ideas" in the rear which undermine the "immutable" foundations of the anointed Mikado, of the big banking concerns, Mitsui, Mitsubishi and the other representatives of

bourgeois-landlord rule. In the rear and at the front, in the west and east, in the north and south, the Japanese jingoes swear to crush bolshevism to obtain a fat interest rate and monstrous super-profits.

"Asia for the Asiatics!" Japanese imperialism has assumed a conspicuous place even among the imperialist robbers, and become notorious for its colonial savagery. Wherever it sets foot, human life is choked out and hungry slaves are exterminated for the least manifestation of discontent. In Korea, prisoners are handcuffed by wire driven through their palms and are thus driven to the police stations to be subjected to the most brutal tortures and third degree methods.

The brutalities of the Japanese military in Chapei aroused a wave of indignation throughout the civilised world. Heads and arms were chopped off, eyes dug out of sockets, ears cut off, men and women shot on the least suspicion, from sheer love of murder. This was the daily practice of the Japanese militarists.

The Soviet Far East still preserves the recollection of the bloody deeds of the Japanese bandits, with those of the Russian white guards. Even now, tens of thousands of families recall their dead, tortured and murdered by Japanese imperialist hangmen.

"Asia for the Asiatics!" This is the sign which is brightly displayed as the cover of the entire predatory filthiness, the repulsive parasitism and counter-revolutionary black-hundred banditism of the "imperial morality."

The overwhelming majority of the 60,000,000 Japanese do not work for themselves, for in Japan a skilled worker is able, at best, to allow himself the luxury of some fish only once or twice a week. Consumption of sugar in Japan is only one-eighth of that in the U.S.A. The peasants sell their daughters to brothels to pay for fertilizers, the price of which, it may be noted in passing, has gone up more than 100 per cent. during the crisis.

This system of "imperial morality" is crowned by a pinnacle attaining truly dizzy heights. According to

the data of the Imperial Credit Bureau for 1929, there were in Japan 3,000 persons possessing property in excess of one million yen. The majority of these millionaires live in Tokyo, in any case the fifty richest of them do so. At the head of the Japanese millionaires stands the Emperor himself, who controls a number of commercial and industrial companies and great estates. He is followed by Baron Iwasaki Hisaya, the former director of the Mitsubishi family concern and a brother of the present director. His personal property amounts to 500,000,000 yen in round figures. Alongside him is Mitsui, the head of the Mitsui concern. Next comes Baron Iwasaki Koyata, the brother of the first Iwasaki and the present director of Mitsubishi, with 480,000,000 yen, followed by Mitsui, president of the Mitsui Bank, Baron Sumitomo, president of the consortium bearing the same name. They each average 200,000,000 yen.

It is these inflated leeches at the top, headed by the Mikado himself, and supported by the blood-thirsty and beast-like reactionary fascist jingoes and landlords, who have learned to suck the blood and sweat of the peasants quite as efficiently as the Russian serf-drivers ever did, and who are "choking from lack of space in Japan"! All their venal and brutal system of monarchical parasitism and semi-feudal dictatorship in the service of finance-capital is being steadily undermined by the growing class contradictions and the rising discontent of the masses, who are stirred to indignation by the monarchical autocracy and the omnipotence of the financial plutocracy and feudal lords. The war against the unarmed, enslaved and unfettered Chinese people cannot arouse any spirit of patriotism among the textile workers who starve on their 15 yens a month; among the seamen who are dying of poverty and starvation owing to unemployment, among the armament workers, who are dying off like fish out of water due to their appalling wages. The war has not weakened the struggle between the peasants and landlords in the village, between the farm labourers and village capitalists. On the con-

trary, it has strengthened and sharpened all the contradictions, it has undermined the very edifice of Japanese imperialism. Araki himself openly revealed this secret of Japanese imperialism, which stands with one foot on a whole mountain of feudal manure, and the other on the power of the banking and industrial companies and the might of Japanese bombing planes in the struggle against the helpless Chinese coolies and peasants, women and children. In his infamous pamphlet, *Japan's Tasks in the Epoch of Siowa*, Araki writes: "The present difficult situation cannot be remedied until the entire Japanese people are inspired by the utmost determination to realize their great duty. Without this inspiration there is possible neither a fundamental solution of the Manchurian-Mongolian problem nor any continental policy. All this is confirmed by the historical facts which have taken place, beginning with the Medji-~~era~~, the Japanese-Chinese, the Russo-Japanese and the German-Japanese wars, which were solemnly waged under the banner of this great ideal. Japan's position was then recognized by the whole world. On this basis was created the greatness of the Japanese state, on this basis its power grew and multiplied. Had these wars been waged by Japan for its selfish interests, if they had borne a predatory, robbing character, Japan would in all probability have become an object of reproach on the part of all the states of the world, and would, in the long run, have found herself in an embarrassing position verging on the hopeless. Germany during the last European war is a living proof of this."

This crafty, brazen swindler in a general's uniform betrays the secret, carefully concealed, not only by Japanese imperialism but all its accomplices and assistants in the struggle for imperialist domination of the world.

Modern Japan, in many of its features, resembles Russia prior to 1904, on the eve of the first Russian revolution which was then ready to break out. The Russian tsar then sought salvation from the revolu-

tion on the Manchurian battlefields. The tsarist troops, on their victorious return from the Far East, were to assure the further existence of the utterly decayed tsarist monarchy. Russian tsarism miscalculated—and the Russo-Japanese War led to the first Russian revolution.

In Japan, the imperialist pan-Asiatic policy is to be a healing plaster for the monarchy, for the omnipotence of the financial magnates, for the rule of semi-feudal landlordism. Japanese capital flaunts the cheapness of Japanese labour as advertising bait. Ministers, generals, bank directors and an unbridled officer class pound the table with their fists, calling on the peoples of Asia to submit themselves to their imperial will. Among all the Asiatic nations, imperial Japan alone has succeeded in forcing herself into the ranks of the first-rate imperialist plunderers.

In fact, in this country the exploiting classes have succeeded in combining, under the monarchical cover, both wage slavery and the feudal whip. *In this country, the ruling upper class has worked itself up and filled its pockets with tens and hundreds of millions, because it has not hesitated to convert its own people into colonial slaves.* In imperial Japan each of the workers, peasants and city poor is in the position of a stray dog, driven from pillar to post by any tinpot boss, small landlord, police hound, chairman of a fascist “black hundred” union, or official.

The Japanese working class has already produced from its ranks a courageous, revolutionary Communist vanguard which has demonstrated in action, rather than talk, that it is able to fight heroically for the liberation of the toilers, even in the dungeons of this incredibly reactionary regime. The victorious imperial army which devastated helpless Chapei with its heavy bombers and naval artillery had to encounter disobedience on the part of its soldiers, and refusal to march to the front of workers and peasants who had been put forcibly into soldiers' uniforms. *The seeds of revolution rapidly sprout on Japanese soil; that is why*

Japanese imperialism seeks to outstrip time and space by a predatory leap. It calculates that, by the capture of new territory and natural resources it can become more powerful and invincible, that the armour of imperialist victories will make it invulnerable from within; in the struggle against its own people, against the toiling majority of them. Precisely for this reason does it, the sword of the Samurai in one hand and cheap Japanese rubbish in the other, sally forth to conquer the world. The Mikado, his generals and ministers, the landlords, the haughty officers, and last but not least the 3,000 millionaires, are looking for a place in the sun; and the Second International, together with Leon Blum and the other polished representatives of swindling, plutocratic, and fascist-democratic socialism respectfully extend their hands to help them on to a new world pedestal: "Japan can no longer feed its extremely rapidly growing population on its volcanic islands."

CHAPTER VI

FOR CHURCH, MIKADO AND FATHERLAND, AND FIFTEEN YEN¹⁰ A MONTH

JAPANESE cheap goods have scored a triumphant success on the world markets during the last few years. Silk, from silk worms bred by the hands of peasant women and children, and cheap textiles—such are the two main articles of Japanese export. Japanese goods have now filled all colonial markets, and are even wearing away the solid foundations of the rule of Lancashire. Japanese electric lamps are dislodging the quality British product, while in Indonesia, Japanese beer is elbowing the old German export beer out, a veritable national affront to triumphant German fascism.

True, this success of their cheap goods has been achieved by the reduction of the value of the yen by 60 per cent., and a frantic lowering of the wage-level, accompanied by a drastic increase of the exploitation of the workers.

Contrary, however, to all of its efforts in this direction, Japanese capitalism failed to reach the level achieved in 1928, in 1932. In the latter year Japan's foreign trade amounted to 4,500,000,000 yen; in 1932 it barely reached 3,000,000,000 yen, depreciated by 60 per cent.

If the whole of the world's bourgeois press extols the "war prosperity" of Japan, it is due, firstly, to the fact that the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries is dreaming of a new imperialist slaughter and war prosperity, and secondly, in the gloomy chaos of the crisis the bourgeoisie are naturally looking for bright spots and the wish is father to the thought.

Japanese cheap textiles have become a problem of

¹⁰ One yen approximately 1s. 2d. or 40 cents.

world importance, not merely from the standpoint of the reckless offensive of Japanese imperialism and provocative preparation of an attack upon the U.S.S.R. Japanese cheap goods have become an international problem in their bearing on the mutual relations of labour and capital in the other capitalist countries. The British capitalist regards the cheapness of labour in Japan, which is paid at colonial rates, with envy. "Seven pence, and the working day consists of ten hours," exclaims the respectable *Times*, May 29, 1933. This is much simpler and better than the protective measures in the defence of the British Empire.

Capital in all countries seeks a way out of the crisis by a monstrous reduction of the standard of life of the workers and peasants. It is precisely the *progress* of Japanese cheap goods produced by workers who are paid at colonial rates, which stimulates the capitalist offensive against the working class, serving as a war cry for the capitalists of all countries.

The growing equalization of the conditions of exploitation of colonial labour with those in the so-called advanced capitalist countries is imminent. The British bourgeoisie lets the cat out of the bag: "If Japan imports everything good in the industrial life of the West and rejects everything spoiling these relations, she sets an example which the West could follow with advantage to itself." (*Times*, 1933.)

To combine first-class industrial technique and the greatest achievements of industry with the most atrocious conditions of colonial slavery, such is the ideal to which international finance capital has been striving, under the influence of the further development and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, and the struggle of two worlds which now determines the path of human history.

While in the land of victorious socialism the working day is seven hours, in the countries of most highly developed and "advanced" capitalism, capital seeks to reward the workers with an eleven- to twelve-hour

working day—and wages sufficient to sustain a colonial coolie.

Back to mediævalism!

In politics, in economics, in every field, back to mediævalism! For the sphere of influence of the international proletarian revolution ever broadens, its forces ever grow and consolidate themselves under the banner of the international fatherland of all toilers.

Above we quoted the fat incomes of Japanese capital during the period of the recent war boom. Here is their background. Japanese agriculture is passing through a sharp agrarian crisis, for the reactionary agrarian system, long since moribund, weighs heavily upon, and stifles the rank and file peasantry. It appears (according to the information of the Social Bureau) that in the province of Niigata alone, 5,000 girls were sold during the first half of 1932, or 33 per cent. more than during the past several years. In a number of villages it is impossible to find a five-yen coin, so poor is the peasantry. The teachers are not paid even their five yen a month, and are literally starving, while war industry flourishes and textile dumping scores resounding successes. A large number of industries work to only 50 per cent. of capacity and employment generally, far from increasing, is decreasing, even in those industries reaping the fruits of the war boom.

Japanese imperialism is climbing towards new conquests almost directly over the weak backs of women, since the spinning and weaving industries employ 740,000 women, as against 158,000 men, while in industry generally there are 886,000 women of 1,600,000 workers. Japanese imperialism, this monster crunching and destroying human lives, does not disdain child labour either. This constitutes 11 per cent. of all industrial employment.

While wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few billionaires, Japanese industry represents a highly chequered picture, as a large part of it consists of

small and medium-size establishments employing, as a rule, backward methods of production and obsolete forms of labour organization. A series of intermediate stages extending from peasant home-industry located in some shed by the side of the peasant hut and exploited by the landlord, merchant, money-lender and supplier of fertilizers, to the giants of great industry testifies to the fact that Japanese capitalism, in its development, has always sought to secure itself fabulous profits by utilising the most savage semi-mediaeval exploitation—and robbing neighbouring colonial peoples.

At present it bristles with arms and rattles the sword. It is organizing an air fleet and has appropriated 100,000,000 yen for this purpose. It is frantically producing tanks, having learned the lesson in Shanghai that its old-fashioned snail tanks are entirely unsuitable for any really serious fighting. It is re-arming the artillery. Millions are pouring into the pockets of the manufacturers and munition makers, quartermaster officers and gold-embroidered generals.

The expenditure side of the state budget for 1933-34 amounts to 2,239,000,000 yen against revenues equal to 1,289,000,000 yen. This strained budget is due to the considerable growth of the cost of the war, amounting to nearly a billion yen.

The military command itself issues orders to the capitalists—and only recently instructed the six biggest capitalist concerns, with Mitsui and Mitsubishi at their head, to contribute 3,000,000 yen for the development of Manchurian oil. Japanese imperialism took advantage of the seizure of Manchuria to build the Kirin-Hoiren railroad. This line was built directly with a view to making war upon the U.S.S.R., for it is intended primarily for troop movements from Japan through Korea, and for the economic strangulation of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Japanese diplomats, with utterly shameless cynicism, practically declared this explicitly in their diplomatic note concerning the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The South Man-

churian Railway Co. has been ordered to build a harbour in the port of Rashin, and invest 40,000,000 yen in it within fifteen years. The harbour is planned in the first place to handle 3,000,000 tons, to be extended later to 9,000,000 tons. In the course of three years the port must be linked up with the Korean railways. Railway tracks like sharp fangs are extending towards the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. from various directions, to facilitate a rapid attack. Japanese imperialism is assiduously storing up oil and has signed a contract with Dutch imperialism, allowing it to make full use of the oil base in Borneo. Japan's own oil production amounts to only 390,000 tons, while her navy alone consumes 400,000,000 tons, the commercial fleet another 400,000,000, and motor transport and aviation 200,000 tons.

Japanese experts are roaming all the markets buying up old steamers in Canada, Europe and Shanghai, rails from the Canadian Trans-Pacific Railroad, and scrap metal in the U.S.A. They are feverishly accumulating war stocks, securing the necessary amount of shipping to throw troops upon the continent, and making sure that they will not lack the necessary materials to build new strategic railway lines. They know very well that they are sitting on a volcano, staking everything on one *coup*, and their starving and miserable country is not with them. It is precisely because of this that they hope to compensate all their shortcomings, discords and contradictions by an onslaught upon the Soviet border.

If they could only succeed in making straight for Irkutsk, cutting off the Far-Eastern territory, and driving their claws into the land of victorious socialism!

This they are dreaming of, in this spirit they are working.

Their provocation around the Chinese Eastern Railway completely exposes their plans. They are not only disinclined to buy the line, but are clearly preparing to seize it, and *transform it into a military strategic road for an anti-Soviet intervention*. Some of the dates of

their plans do not fit in with each other very well. They need several more months to carry out a number of their military plans. But they have entered upon the path of war, and are convinced that within a short period after starting the intervention against the U.S.S.R., the largest jackals of the imperialist world will hasten to their aid with money and war materials. They are hoping that within a few months the British bourgeoisie will join them wholeheartedly in their criminal schemes against the U.S.S.R. They are staking everything, and talk to the effect that the Soviet Union is threatened now less than ever from the imperialist and counter-revolutionary plunderers is music to their ears. They know where this talk comes from. They have their own entirely fascist, imperial Social-Democracy which has proclaimed the annexation of Manchuria to be an "achievement of socialism." They have their Akamatsu's who have migrated directly from the Second International to Akiraki, just as Lóebe and Leipart have joined Hitler. They have their counterparts to Otto Wels, who perform venial services for the Japanese monarchy, and the blood-thirsty gang of military cut-throats and speculators, confirming their "right" to strangle colonial Asia and make war upon the U.S.S.R., which is moving towards classless socialist society by leaps and bounds.

They have a deadly enemy in the rear, the Japanese workers, toiling peasants and city poor, to whom all the external victories of Japanese imperialism are a bloody internal defeat. They have toilers and exploited in the rear who know how to distinguish between their "native" lash and proletarian socialism. Against them arises the great power of the Chinese Soviet movement and Red armies, which have already united 300,000 armed fighters and tens of millions of toilers, who are prepared to assist them and fight shoulder to shoulder with them.

Japanese imperialism is staking everything; but it should not only remember the lessons which Russian Tsarism received from the Revolution; it must also remember that after the October Revolution, time has

moved faster and that the distance between 1904 and 1917 will now be covered in less than thirteen years. *This upstart imperialism will inevitably find itself confronted with a revolution. And if the Japanese imperialists raise their hand against the fatherland of the toilers of the world, they will only hasten the revolutionary climax.*

CHAPTER VII

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TOILERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD: FOR THE FATHERLAND OF THE TOILERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD

UNDER the conditions of the capitalist deadlock, the onslaught of fascist terror, and the influence of continuously more ominous threats of the approach of a fresh world slaughter and intervention, the working masses of Europe and America are feeling the harm caused by the split and division in the ranks of the working class especially painfully. Unity of the working class, at a time when capital is attacking from all sides, is a most vital and essential necessity. *There is not a single honest class-conscious worker in Europe or America who does not regard the cause of the Bolsheviks as his own cause. There is not a single honest son of the working class in Europe and America, not a single honest toiler, who could say that he is for the Japanese invaders and against the Chinese coolies, that he is for His Royal Highness the Mikado and against the land of socialist construction, that he is for the imperialist slaughter and against the Soviet policy of peace. In this respect the unity of the rank and file working masses is not subject to doubt and constitutes a potent force.*

However, this force is not yet sufficiently organized, consolidated and united, or conscious of its own power. Moreover, this force, which can become invincible in the struggle against capitalism, and inevitably will become so—very often verges on impotence and fails to find a practical application.

To some, or even to a majority of honest workers in many capitalist countries, this appears to be a fatal misunderstanding. They condemn their Social-Democratic leaders with whom they disagree, for their proletarian outlook cannot agree with the wolfish

demeanour, and fox's cunning of the heroes of the Second International. They condemn the Communists for their intolerance, intransigence and inability to approach the rank and file, still held captives by Social-Democracy.

The defeats which capital has inflicted upon them, with the aid of Social-Democracy, are frequently accepted by them with a feeling of resignation. Unemployment is too great, the situation created by the crisis is too hopeless, the fighters, who appear to lack confidence in their own powers, are too fatigued. Yet it is necessary to look for the proletarian way out of the capitalist hell, out of the deadlock, while the fascist noose is still not yet finally tightened round their necks. It is necessary for them to find a way out and to help themselves and others.

The first question to which an answer must be given is how force becomes impotence, how the unity of the working class which can be achieved at the bottom, can and does frequently develop into a doormat for the feet of the lackeys of capital. An answer to this question can be furnished only with the aid of the theory of Marx and Lenin. *The split in the working class is necessary to the capitalist*, especially when it robs and strangles the overwhelming majority of humanity, especially when the edifice of capitalism becomes shaky and cracks and, within a few paces, there rises a new socialist structure of enormous world importance.

Even during the period of the first imperialist world war, Lenin wrote: "On the one hand the tendency of the bourgeoisie and opportunists to convert a handful of the richest and privileged nations into 'eternal' parasites on the body of the rest of humanity, to 'rest on the laurels' of the exploitation of the Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of modern militarism equipped with magnificent technique for annihilation. On the other hand, the tendency of the masses, oppressed worse than ever and suffering all the torments of imperialist wars, to throw

off this yoke, to overthrow the bourgeoisie. *The history of the labour movement will inevitably develop at present in the struggle between these two tendencies.* For the first tendency is not accidental but economically well 'substantiated.' The bourgeoisie has already bred, fostered and secured 'bourgeois labour parties' of social chauvinists in *all* countries. . . . And is there a great difference between Lloyd George and the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Hendersons and Hyndmans, Plekhanovs, Renaudels and Co.?" (*Lenin*, Vol. XIX, pages 310-11, Russian Edition.)

These lines written seventeen years ago breathe the atmosphere of to-day, for since then, capitalism has not become nobler but even more savage, rotted further, become more parasitic.

The imperialist bourgeoisie must systematically disrupt the ranks of the working class and its unity, from behind, to exercise its dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie must paralyse the will of the working class to be able to crush and rob it, and convert it into its blind and helpless tool. The split in the working class is in the interests of the imperialist robbers. After fifteen years of the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R., every imperialist war, every outburst of imperialist contradictions, every weakening of the imperialist plunderers, by a military struggle between them, inevitably opens wider the doors of the proletarian revolution.

The world proletarian revolution began on October 25, 1917. If in the U.S.S.R. it celebrates its victories—creating and pressing into service great socialist productive forces, while in the capitalist countries it continues to remain in an illegal condition, this does not change the essence of the situation. Every imperialist war, under the present conditions of the general crisis of capitalism and struggle between the two worlds, must inevitably develop into a civil war of labour against capital. For this very reason the capitalists

seek, firstly, to guarantee the daily duping of the consciousness and will of the working class, and, secondly, to frustrate the conversion of the imperialist war, anti-Soviet intervention into a war against the bourgeoisie by a preventative fascist war against the proletariat. It "purges" the rear, in which it has no confidence.

The Japanese Araki, on the very first page of his imperialist fascist programmatic pamphlet was forced to admit that in Japan, which had been hermetically closed to all "pernicious influences," a section of the population "is now forgetting the meaning of its national spirit and the spirit of our state system and frivolous foreign ideology easily penetrates in its midst. . . . The degradation of the national spirit is speedily developing and it is becoming exceedingly difficult to steer it in the direction of virtue."

Even Araki fears that the Japanese workers and peasants may impale the Mikado monarchy on their bayonets—when they see through the class essence of the military plans of Araki and the others of the jingoist-profiteering gang.

The split in the ranks of the working class can only be overcome on the basis of what is generally recognized and indisputable for the overwhelming majority of the honest rank and file workers.

Such a consolation and amalgamation of the working class can be easily achieved, given one indispensable condition, namely, that the workers do not allow themselves to be intimidated by the "socialist" lawyers, by social-fascist parliamentarians who serve capital, and have converted the great teachings of the class struggle and socialism into a hand-rag for capitalists. To this an end must be put at all costs. For the unity of the working class, the united front of labour and of all toilers against world imperialist war and anti-Soviet intervention is impossible, inconceivable—unless the rank-and-file workers display a firm and unshakable determination to be themselves; despite their provocative "work."

Certainly, these leaders are shrewd people. They knew how, with the aid of Hindenburg, to bring Hitler to power, to vote for him and then to say: "We were afraid that the fascist thugs might put a bullet in our skulls."

This excuse of the "most radical" of these polished gentlemen is always written on their faces. They would be glad to bury the Soviet Union, but their arms, like those of their masters, are too short for this, and therefore they stealthily crawl from the rear and from behind corners like vicious and envious rats towards the Soviet borders, throwing tear bombs and poison gases into the crowd of workers which plunge them under the feet of capital.

This must be ended.

Workers of the world, unite! To-day this means workers of the world, unite around the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world, for its defence and for your own protection against the jackals and hyenas of imperialism, the fascist beast, and their servants who accept fascism with a democratic reservation. Only this will lead to the true, *i.e.*, revolutionary way out of the capitalist blind alley and hell. *Only in this way is it possible to prevent* the capitalists from making a new massacre of tens of millions of people to stave off the inevitable downfall of capitalism, which has become a source of the greatest oppression, reactionary violence and human disgrace.

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